1; Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1938) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

used to sit on. In the plaza it is common to sit or lie on the bare ground, though some regularly bring along a mat to rest on, others making a flat club into a little bench. But beams as seats placed at the periphery of the plaza I saw only among the Kre'pų'mkateye.

The platform bed is universal among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Apą'nyekra, and Krahõ', but Snethlage misunderstands Silva e Souza when citing him to support its use among the Southern Kayapó. That author merely reports "arranchamentos com 400 camas," which last word may designate a sleeping facility on the ground as well as on furniture. Snethlage also misquotes me on the subject of hammocks; these are not in vogue among the Krĩkatí, who sleep on mats on the ground and are covered with mats, which partly holds also for the Pųkóbye.[39] He rightly ascribes hammocks to the Kre'pų'mkateye—the only Timbira among whom a number of persons regularly sleep in hammocks. The Krĩkatí, Pųkóbye, and Rąmkõ'kamekra do own a fair number of these contrivances, but exclusively for resting in the daytime, and nearly all of them have been obtained in barter from the near-by Guajajára. The hammocks found among the Krĩkatí and Pųkóbye all come from the quite isolated hamlet of Urucú; the Kre'pų'mkateye obtain theirs from the Guajajára farther up the Grajahú; and the Rąmkõ'kamekra from the settlements of the same tribe beyond the Rio Corda. The last-mentioned Timbira have also obtained some Neobrazilian specimens on their begging trips to state capitals.

In any case, to date the Timbira have never manufactured a single cotton hammock. On the other hand, in their temporary camps they will take but a few minutes to complete a hammock quite serviceable for a few days by interlacing the tips of two burity leaflets. The ropes for suspending this type of hammock are made of the stalks of the two leaves when worn down to a thin strip. Occasionally such hammocks may be seen even in permanent villages, especially among the Krahõ'. Among the Apą'nyekra, Snethlage saw a hammock for little children that had been knotted together from a few bast threads. I noted a rather large sample of this type among the Rąmkõ'kamekra; it consisted of ropes made of the black bark of a *philodendron* species. It was not in the Guajajára twined technique, but rather conformed to that of Timbira scoop nets (pl. 17, *c*), though wider-meshed. The Šerénte rather frequently fasten such hammocks to the branches of trees for hunting from ambush; accordingly, there is no reason to think of diffusion from the Tupí.

Storage.—In two or three Ponto houses there was in one corner an attic with a flooring of poles. It was partitioned off with thatched walls, provided with a small door, and made accessible by a notched tree. This chamber serves for the storage of provisions and of valuables; it is due to Neobrazilian influence. Not a single Timbira tribe has scaffolds for the stowing away of utensils. Except for the attics just described, such objects are thrust into the roof or wall thatch; stuck under the beds; or, in the case of small articles, most commonly suspended in bags and baskets, such as are always available in considerable numbers. For this purpose the house posts are frequently allowed to keep a projecting limb, and the same end is served by the cords that sometimes hang down from the rafters. However, there are no specially designed hooks or crossbeams for suspension.

Fire.—The fireplaces, fixed appurtenances of the dwellings, fall into three categories. First, there is the small fire kept going in the night at the foot of the beds; in the daytime it is not used except possibly for some technological task. Secondly, there is the fireplace with its hearthstones for boiling food; this often coincides with the foregoing,[39] but otherwise is likely to be placed in the unenclosed space

[39] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 155, 116.

[39] This seems contradictory to the preceding statement. *Editor.*

deceased than she quite suddenly falls to blubbering rhythmically for several minutes. Such lamentation is indispensable if some tribesman arrives whom the mourner has not seen since her loss or who has been away for some time. In the latter case—as whenever I myself return—another idea coöperates: sympathy with the homecoming traveler, who is supposed to have been exposed to all manner of privations, maltreatment, and dangers during his absence. He seats himself on the mat as described above, his kinswomen lay their heads or arms against his shoulder and bawl in the way indicated, actually shedding tears, and some of them working themselves into a profound state of excitement. On one occasion a mother gave vent to sentiments of despondent grief when she caught sight of a feather ornament given me by her daughter, who had died during my absence.

During major festivals lamentations of this sort are always to be heard emanating from some house or other: The inmates remember some dead relative who would have played a part in the present proceedings if still alive or recall a child on whom the role should have devolved. At major log races I have several times seen some age class throw down the log and then at once trot over to the maternal home of their deceased champion runner in order to join his relatives in bewailing him.

DIVISION OF LABOR

As superficial observers are wont to do, Fróes Abreu alleges that Rąmkõ'kamekra men lead a life of idleness while women labor.[29] As stated in the relevant sections, all hard work—the clearing of woods, hunting, war—devolves solely on the men, who moreover take part in a series of supplementary activities. It is true that the development of agriculture, the recession of the chase, and the elimination of war have increased feminine work and diminished masculine obligations. On the other hand, women hardly gather wild fruits any more and the construction of more substantial houses, along with the rise of a by no means insignificant home industry has added to masculine labor. Abreu declares that the women manufacture baskets and mats (p. 180), yet pictures a matmaking man (p. 58)! His statement holds only for certain special types of basketry; others and also mats, the most important article for trade, are never made by women. Burity mats, large, rectangular food bags and lidded suspension pouches are for the most part of Rąmkõ'kamekra, in small measure of Apą'nyekra, provenience. They are found in pretty nearly all houses of the central interior of Maranhão and especially in the shops of Barra do Cordo. This industry fails to develop more rapidly for the solitary reason that all trading between the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the whites is aimed at mutual cheating.

The most one can say is that as the children's caretaker and the sole laborer at domestic chores woman is more constantly employed than man. In any case she is far too independent by virtue of her social status to turn into an idle husband's beast of labor.

DIVORCE

Only a few reasons warrant the rupture of marriage with a virgin—barrenness, grave maltreatment, and adultery. As for the first-mentioned ground, I know of only one case, and even there I gained the impression that the wife's sterility was a pretext rather than the real reason. Excessive abuse of a woman led to divorce in a few instances, all of them the result of alcoholism. Adultery on either side is the commonest reason, though, as among the Apinayé, many spouses are willing to overlook a mate's straying from the narrow path. However, Abreu exaggerates beyond all reason in alleging that "as Canellos desconhecem a fidelidade conjugal"

[29] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 179.

1s Nimuendaju E-6 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

574 among his own people. This man assigned a corner of his house as our lodging, had
648 his wife roast some gourds, and even managed to secure a bit of meat for us. During
609 the night I was unable to sleep a wink, for Kopkré harangued the Apą'nyekra seated
around him literally from 7 P.M. until 4 A.M. Not at that time understanding a word
[537] of Timbira speech, I asked him what he had told our hosts; he replied that he had admonished them to live peaceably and morally. It is inexplicable whence he derived the substance of his Marathon speeches, for the replies of the Apą'nyekra were far briefer; however, at least some of them listened to the very end.

648 In 1930 the Rąmkõ'kamekra were struck with the disconcerting lack of arara
438 feathers required for the ketũaye initiation. Accordingly, they once more—with all due precautions—sent an embassy to the Apą'nyekra, who were somewhat better off in this respect, in order to get arara feathers in exchange for clay tobacco pipes of Neobrazilian type which had been manufactured by old Kukrãžą'.

648 In 1933 a Krahõ' delegation accompanied by one Kénkateye visited us at Ponto.
574 The Krahõ' have no honorary chief there, but being on close terms of friendship with the Apą'nyekra they proceeded to the house of the above-mentioned woman married to a member of this tribe. At sunset, as the councilors were assembling in the plaza, the head chief Ropką' rose and for a while sang with outstretched arms. Then he leaned on his staffclub, rocking his body to and fro, and with his powerful voice shouted toward the house harboring the newcomers, "You poor fellows! I pity you! Don't you know how malevolent our tribe is! Truly you are men of courage to have ventured here. Now come to the plaza and tell us what you are here for! Don't linger long! Hurry, so that we may find out!" Thereupon the three guests paid their respects to the chiefs and sat down, saying they had come for a visit. Actually, their object was apparently to induce me to return to the Krahõ'. Then Ropką' sent them to his dwelling to eat. These visitors were well treated and stayed over a week. Whatever house they entered, they were entertained with food, and wantons were supplied to sleep with them.

The reception of a Guajajára embassy has already been described on page 46 f.
574 The Eastern Timbira, as indicated by my experiences among the Apą'nyekra, are
609 not particularly hospitable to civilized visitors. It is true that no tribe will deny a
577 transient a night's lodging. Usually one of the chiefs, or often enough some other resident, will allot the traveler a place in his wife's or mother's dwelling, except possibly among the Apą'nyekra, where I noticed a dilapidated shed for strangers. However, food is provided only for an old acquaintance who has extended hospitality to the Indians; whether other strangers go hungry, is nobody's concern. If the traveler makes an impression of wealth, he is brought some trifling "gift"—a mere overture for unremitting mendicancy. Chiefs, however, are not supposed to beg in the way of the Apą'nyekra chief described above. I have never heard of a guest being robbed by his immediate hosts, but he has to be aware of inquisitive visitors from other households. I can certainly not vouch with the same enthusiasm as Snethlage for the honesty and trustworthiness of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.[36]

Law

421 *Property.*—Contrary to Apinayé custom,[37] among the Eastern Timbira, the land
423 belongs to the tribe, not to the village community. This difference probably results
619 from the far lesser stability of the Eastern Timbira communities. A few years before my visit to the Pųkõbye the aldea of Morro do Chapeu had split into two settlements, São Felix and Recurso, but the land remained undivided; and similar developments occurred among the Krahõ'.

[36] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 115; Reise, 488.

[37] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 11.